

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 2294

FROM STABLER FOR HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SP, NATO

SUBJ: SPAIN AND NATO-BRIEFING MATERIAL FOR USE WITH NATO

ALLIES

REF: STATE 75070

1. THE US AND SPAIN BEGAN THE PROCESS OF RENEGOTIATING AN AGREEMENT TO EXTEND US BASE RIGHTS IN SPAIN DURING THE SUMMER OF 1974. OUR CURRENT AGREEMENT OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION EXPIRES ON SEPT 26, 1975. TO SATISFY SPAIN'S INTEREST IN SHOWING PARRALLELISM BETWEEN US/SPANISH RELATIONSHIP AND US/NATO RELATIONSHIP, THE USG AGREED TO A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES SIMILAR TO THAT SIGNED BY THE NATO ALLIES. THE SPAIN/US DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, DATED JULY 9, 1974, WAS OF PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE SPANISH, WHO VIEWED IT AS A VEHICLE TO IMPROVE THE POLITICAL CLIMATE FOR CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN SPAIN AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE. SENSITIVE TO WHAT IT CONSIDERED AS AN UNFRINEDLY ATTITUDE TOWARD SPAIN BY CERTAIN NATO COUNTRIES, THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT INSISTED ON WORDING IN THE DECLARATION WHICH EMPHASIZED THAT EACH NATION IN WESTERN EUROPE SHOULD BE TREATED EQUALLY. IT ALSO WANTED RECOGNITION FOR ITS
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO WESTERN DEFENSE BY VIRTUE OF PROVIDING

US BASE RIGHTS ON ITS TERRITORY. AND IT WANTED THE DECLARATION TO EMPHASIZE THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN WESTERN DEFENSE AND THE NEED FOR CLOSER COORDINATION AND COOPERATION IN THE DEFENSE FIELD.

2. THE USG SAW THE DECLARATION SERVING TWO PRINCIPAL PURPOSES: (A) TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS EXISTED BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, ESPECIALLY IN THE DEFENSE FIELD, SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE FIRST BASE AGREEMENT IN 1953; AND (B) TO LEND ITS SUPPORT TO THE CONCEPT OF CLOSER RELATIONSHIPS AMONG EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING MATTERS OF DEFENSE.

3. THE FOLLOWING EXCERPTS FROM THE DECLARATION SHOULD BE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO OUR NATO ALLIES: (A) "THE GOVERNMENTS OF SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES DECLARE THAT THEIR COOPERATION SINCE 1953 HAS BEEN BENEFICIAL FOR THE SECURITY OF BOTH COUNTRIES, HAS STRENGTHENED THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST AND HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE MAINTENANCE OF WORLD PEACE, WITH SPAIN PLAYING AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THIS REGARD IN THE ATLANTIC AND MEDITERRANEAN ZONES"; (B) "THEY PROCLAIM THEIR RESOLVE TO PURSUE THEIR EFFORTS FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE, AS WELL AS ON BEHALF OF DETENTE, AND TO THIS END THEY PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE..." (C) "THEY BELIEVE THAT THEIR MUTUAL DEFENSE EFFORT IS COMPLEMENTARY TO THAT OF EXISTING SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN THE ATLANTIC FRAMEWORK AND THAT EQUAL TREATMENT SHOULD BE ACCORDED TO ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION. ACCORDINGLY, THEY INTEND THAT THEIR DEFENSE COOPERATION BE COORDINATED, FURTHERING THE APPROPRIATE RELATIONSHIP WITH SUCH ARRANGEMENTS, BEING CONVINCED THAT RECIPROCAL SECURITY AND INTEGRITY ARE ESSENTIAL FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND THAT THE SECURITY OF THE ATLANTIC AND MEDITERRANEAN AREA REQUIRES THE EFFORT OF ALL CONCERNED."

4. THE FIRST FORMAL NEGOTIATING ROUND WAS HELD IN MADRID, CONFIDENTIAL

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NOV 4-7 1974. WE HAVE ALTERNATED CAPITALS IN THE SUBSEQUENT MONTHLY MEETINGS. THE FIFTH ROUND WAS HELD IN MADRID, APRIL 2-5. AS AGENDA, DEVELOPED AT THE FIRST SESSION, HAS GUIDED OUR DISCUSSIONS. THE FIRST TWO ITEMS (1- THE SPANISH-US BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP; AND 2- COORDINATION AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SPANISH-US SYSTEM AND NATO) ARE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO THE SPANISH AND HAVE DOMINATED OUR DISCUSSIONS THUS

FAR.

5. IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON ITEM ONE THE SPANISH AND US DELEGATIONS HAVE EXPLORED WAYS IN WHICH OUR DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP CAN BE ENRICHED AND TAILORED TO PRESENT CONDITIONS. SPAIN'S PRINCIPAL COMPLAINT IS THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN RECOGNIZED, OR INVOLVED IN A REAL SENSE IN PLAYING A ROLE IN WESTERN DEFENSE. THE US BASES (OR MORE CORRECTLY US "FACILITIES") IN SPAIN SERVE PRIMARILY US AND EUROPEAN SECURITY INTERESTS, THE SPANISH ARGUE, THOUGH THEY ACKNOWLEDGE THE SECURITY PROTECTION SPAIN HAS ENJOYED FROM THE PRESENCE OF THE FACILITIES. MOREOVER, THE SPANISH COMPLAIN THAT THEY PLAY A MARGINAL ROLE IN OPERATING THESE FACILITIES AND DETERMINING THE MISSIONS OF THE MILITARY FORCES THEY HOUSE. THE US HAS BRIEFED THE SPANISH THOROUGHLY ON OUR EUROPEAN STRATEGIC THINKING, GIVING EMPHASIS TO THE ROLES AND MISSIONS OF UNITS AND PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO SPANISH FACILITIES. THE US DELEGATION HAS ALSO DEVELOPED A JOINT STAFF CONCEPT WHICH, IF INSTITUTED, WOULD ENGAGE IN JOINT PLANNING, FORCE STRUCTURE PLANNING AND DESIGNATION OF MISSIONS IN THE REGIONS ADJACENT TO SPAIN. HOWEVER, THE EXACT MANNER IN WHICH SUCH A STAFF MIGHT BE MORE CLOSELY RELATED TO OVERALL WESTERN DEFENSE PLANNING HAS STILL TO BE DEVELOPED.

6. POINT 2 (CLOSER COOPERATION WITH NATO) IS THE ITEM OF GREATEST SENSITIVITY AND INTEREST TO THE SPANISH. RESENTFUL OF HAVING BEEN SNUBBED BY EUROPE AND TREATED AS AN OUTCAST, SPAIN HAS SOUGHT TO MAKE USE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS TO DISCUSS MEANS THROUGH WHICH CLOSER COOPERATION CAN BE DEVELOPED WITH NATO. THE US, TRADITIONALLY SUPPORTIVE OF NATO MEMBERSHIP FOR SPAIN, HAS PROMISED THE SPANISH TO MAKE A RENEWED

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AND EXTRAORDINARY EFFORT TO OBTAIN NATO RECOGNITION OF SPAIN'S DEFENSE CONTRIBUTIONS AND THE BUILDING OF A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ALLIANCE. THE SPANISH RECOGNIZE THE UNLIKELIHOOD OF EARLY FULL NATO MEMBERSHIP ALTHOUGH THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT PROSPECTS ARE IMPROVING AND WILL IMPROVE FURTHER IF INTERNAL POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS (I.E., THE DEATH OF FRANCO AND SOME POSITIVE LIBERALIZATION) DISAPPEAR. THE SPANISH ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN PORTUGAL AND IN THE MEDITERRANEAN IN GENERAL AND ITS OWN IMPRESSIVE ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT MAKE IT A VERY ATTRACTIVE AND STRATEGICALLY-IMPORTANT PROSPECTIVE PARTNER. WHAT THEY ARE SEEKING NOW IS SOME FORM OF LINKAGE SHORT OF FULL MEMBERSHIP. THEY HAVE NOT THOUGHT THROUGH EXACTLY WHAT TYPE OF LINKAGE

WOULD SUIT THEM, THOUGH THEY DO SPEAK OF A "CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENT" WHICH INDICATES AN INTEREST IN A SEMI-FORMAL TIE. THEY BELIEVE THAT THE US AND OTHER EUROPEAN FRIENDS (FOR EXAMPLE, FRG) CAN, ALONG WITH THEM, DEVELOP THE CORRECT "FORMULA".

7. THE US DELEGATION HAS ATTEMPTED TO IMPRESS UPON THE SPANISH HOW DIFFICULT IT MIGHT BE TO SATISFY THEIR DESIRES, THOUGH WE SHARE THEIR VIEW THAT LONGER RANGE PROSPECTS FOR SPANISH MEMBERSHIP ARE POSITIVE. WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO STIMULATE THEIR THINKING AND REPRESENTATIONS WITH THOSE ALLIANCE MEMBERS MOST SYMPATHETIC TO THEIR CAUSE.

8. THE PROBLEM THEN IS TO FIND A FORMULA WHICH PROVIDES SUFFICIENT "COORDINATION AND COOPERATION" TO SATISFY THE SPANISH AND AT THE SAME TIME IS ACCEPTABLE TO OUR NATO ALLIES. SOME FORM OF NATO ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS AS WELL AS A MILITARY LINKAGE TO WESTERN DEFENSE EFFORTS WOULD SERVE. SHORT OF SOME SUCH ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY NATO, THE SPANISH CLAIM THAT ITS PUBLIC WOULD NO LONGER SUPPORT THE CONTINUANCE OF THE CURRENT STRUCTURE OF US FACILITIES ON ITS SOIL, WHICH THEY ARGUE INCREASES THE THREAT OF ATTACK WITHOUT THE COMPENSATORY PROTECTION OF THE NATO UMBRELLA OR

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A BILATERAL SECURITY GUARANTEE FROM THE US.

9. THIS MESSAGE WAS PREPARED BY THE US NEGOTIATION TEAM. AMB. MCCLOSKEY HAS NOT RPT NOT CLEARED. STABLER

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